

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SAM-01 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01

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R 091510Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0784

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMCONSUL LUANDA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: AO, PINT, CG, PFOR, PO

SUBJ: PROSPECTS FOR ANGOLA SETTLEMENT FOLLOWING
MOMBASA AGREEMENTS

REF: LUANDA 0007

1. SUMMARY. PORTUGAL'S DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVE IN
KINSHASA APPEARS REASONABLY OPTIMISTIC AS TO OUTCOME OF
TALKS BEGINNING JANUARY 10 IN PORTUGAL BETWEEN GOP, FNLA,
MPLA AND UNITA. HE SEES ANGOLAN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
ONLY DAYS OR WEEKS AWAY, EARLY OPENING OF PORTUGUESE
EMBASSY IN KINSHASA THEREAFTER, AND ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE
BY FALL OF 1975. END SUMMARY.

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2. AT LUNCHEON AT AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE JANUARY 9, CHARGE OF PORTUGUESE CONSULAR ESTABLISHMENT IN ZAIRE, ANTONIO MONTEIRO, MADE NUMBER OF POINTS OF INTEREST IN COURSE OF 3-HOUR CONVERSATION LARGELY ON ANGOLA. HE HAD SPOKEN WITH FNLA'S HOLDEN ROBERTO TWO DAYS EARLIER AND HAD GAINED FIRM IMPRESSION THAT RECENT MOMBASA MEETING (REFTEL) HAD PRODUCED SUFFICIENT UNITY OF PURPOSE AMONG MPLA, FNLA AND UNITA TO PERMIT SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF FORTHCOMING ROUND-TABLE NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID EARLY AGREEMENT ON PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT SEEMED LIKELY ALTHOUGH THERE MIGHT BE PROTRACTED NEGOTIATIONS OVER SHARING OF MINISTRIES. (DISSIDENT MPLA LEADER CHIPENDA WAS UNLIKELY TO BE INCLUDED IN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.) THERE WOULD ALSO BE DIFFERENCES OVER WHEN TO HOLD ELECTIONS, WITH FNLA PRESSING FOR EARLY ONES AND MPLA AND UNITA SHOWING LESS HASTE. HOWEVER, SHEER DIFFICULTY OF ORGANIZING ELECTIONS WOULD INEVITABLY MEAN MANY MONTHS PREPARATION. A MAJOR STICKING POINT MIGHT BE CHOICE OF GOP'S HIGH COMMISSIONER, WHO WILL HAVE EXTENSIVE POWERS DURING LIFE OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. HOLDEN WILL STRONGLY OPPOSE CONTINUATION IN OFFICE OF PRESENT PROVISIONAL HIGH COMMISSIONER, ROSA COUTINHO. SINCE COUTINHO IS SECOND OR THIRD RANKING MAN IN JUNTA, HE MAY PROVE DIFFICULT TO DISPLACE. MONTEIRO WAS NOT PREDICTING OUTCOME. ANOTHER THORNY ISSUE WILL BE TIME OF COMPOSITION AND CONTROL OF ANGOLAN ARMY. IN BEGINNING AT LEAST NONE OF THREE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS LIKELY TO RELINQUISH CONTROL OF ITS OWN FORCES. PORTUGUESE COMMANDER LIKELY TO BE STUCK WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR WORKING OUT SOME PLAN FOR GRADUAL INTEGRATION OF THESE FORCES INTO NATIONAL ARMY AS DEVELOPING SITUATION ALLOWS.

3. ONCE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN PLACE, GOZ WILL AUTHORIZE OPENING OF PORTUGUESE EMBASSY IN KINSHASA. MONTEIRO APPEARED CONFIDENT THIS WILL HAPPEN FAIRLY SOON.

4. WHILE FORECASTING WITH SOME ASSURANCE THAT ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE WOULD BE ACHIEVED BETWEEN JULY AND SEPTEMBER 1975, MONTEIRO HAD NO CLEAR PERCEPTION OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERVENING PERIOD. HE NOTED THAT PARTIES LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IN ANGOLA ARE ALL TOO WEAK TO PERMIT ANYTHING OTHER THAN COALITION GOVERNMENT, POSSIBLY FOR LONG TIME. HOLDEN HAS BROAD SUPPORT AND ABLE CADRES IN NORTHERN ANGOLA, NETO HAS SUPPORT OF SPECIFIC URBAN CLASSES (WHITE AND BLACK) BUT FEW GOOD CADRES IN ANGOLA, AND SAVIMBI HAS STRONG BACKING IN SOUTH CENTRAL ANGOLA AS WELL AS SEVERAL ABLE LIEUTENANTS. MONTEIRO OBSERVED THAT HOLDEN'S CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE IN ANGOLA, VAL NETO, WAS PARTICULARLY

EFFECTIVE, BUT THERE WERE RUMORS THERE THAT HE HAD PERSONAL AMBITIONS. WHITE ANGOLANS MIGHT HAVE USEFUL ROLE TO PLAY IF IDEA OF MULTIRACIAL SOCIETY REALLY TAKES HOLD. MONTEIRO THOUGHT THERE WAS AT LEAST FAIR CHANCE IT WOULD. HE DISCOUNTED POSSIBILITY THAT BRAZIL MIGHT BACK WHITE EFFORT TO DOMINATE INDEPENDENT ANGOLA.

5. MONTEIRO ALSO COMMENTED ON POST-INDEPENDENCE RELATIONS BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA. WHILE HOLDED OWED MUCH TO MOBUTU AND WOULD PROBABLY BE DISPOSED TO REPAY HIM IN SOME WAY, NATIONALIST AND ANTI-FOREIGN SENTIMENT WAS LIKELY TO GROW RAPIDLY IN INDEPENDENT ANGOLA. PORTUGAL WOULD PRESUMABLY BEAR BRUNT OF THIS, BUT ZAIRE MIGHT BECOME A SECONDARY OBJECT OF RESENTMENT, PARTICULARLY IF IT MADE ANY CLAIMS ON ANGOLAN GRATITUDE. MONTEIRO DID NOT VENTURE TO PREDICT WHAT AN INDEPENDENT ANGOLA MIGHT DECIDE TO DO ABOUT KATANGAN GERDARME REPATRIATION ISSUE, BUT HE SAID GOP HAD HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO GRANT THESE PEOPLE REFUGEE STATUS ONCE THEY HAD OPENLY DECLARED THEIR UNWILLINGNESS TO RETURN TO ZAIRE. HE NOTED THE EX/KATANGAN GERDARMES WERE CURRENTLY BEING DEMOBILIZED AS PORTUGUESE DISBAND PARAMILITARY FORCES IN ANGOLA.
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